

# The COMMONWEAL

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## Russia

IN LONDON General Eisenhower said some things about the Russians which we hope will be read, marked and inwardly digested by Messrs. Hearst, McCormick, Howard and the rest of those who carry their dislike of the communist system and their suspicions of everything Russian to the edge of mania. There is much indeed we can legitimately object to in the communist system; there is much we should be on our guard against in Russia's policy. But we must never allow ourselves to take on a maniacal hue in our discussion of such matters. Said General Eisenhower (according to the *New York Times*): The Russians "are very friendly" and "they want peace and a chance to develop themselves the same as anyone else." His contacts with them have been "heartwarming." And he referred to Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov as "that grand soldier—you can't see him without knowing he is a great soldier."

General Eisenhower did not endorse communism.

General Eisenhower did not say that WAR is inevitable, after the fashion of some of our more venomous editorial writers.

He said that he found you could deal with Russians on easy and proper terms and that they wanted peace. We prefer General Eisenhower as

a witness to the perfervid creators of prose in the *New York Mirror* and *News* or the *Chicago Tribune* or the *San Francisco News*, or to certain clerics who indulge in personal declarations of war on the Soviets.

And it should be pointed out that political and military developments of the last few days in Germany, Austria, Poland, Trieste tend to bear out the thesis we have long defended—that it is possible to come to a decent understanding with Russia if one uses proper methods of frankness and patience. Of course more extreme elements in the Kremlin may increase their pressure and lead to further differences between East and West. But the elasticity of the Kremlin—in a good sense—has once again been demonstrated, and as long as we do not create vacua by our own folly, as long as our government continues friendly but firm, thus giving rise to no new suspicion, we believe that we can do business with Russia and that it is unpardonable irresponsibility for any group—particularly any group with a record of isolationism—suddenly to become mongers for war with Russia.

## Prospect for the Small Nations

IT IS easy for Americans to wax sentimental over the status of the small nations as such in the new organization which is taking shape at San Francisco. We have a ready sympathy for underdogs; we do not like to see people pushed around individually or in groups. And so in the arguments which developed about the veto power of the Big Five in the Security Council many Americans have seen greater force in the arguments of Mr. Evatt of Australia than in those of Senator Connally of Texas. Such a view is hardly in accord with political realities.

In his "Conditions of Peace," published over here three years ago, E. H. Carr pointed out that in the modern world the political independence of smaller nations was purely formal in character. It has no substance in reality, for it can be maintained, even formally, only through association with some larger Power or Powers which in turn greatly restrict the small nation's independence of action. In these pages last week, and in his current book, "The Anatomy of Peace," Mr. Emery Reves has carried this observation one step farther by pointing out that even the Big Powers can no longer act as if they were completely sovereign and independent. When crises come, their lines of action are too often decided for them by men in enemy capitals.

Since genuine sovereignty is an illusion even for the largest nations in this world of modern technology, what can the smaller nations legitimately expect of a new world organization? Such things as cultural autonomy (a certain freedom for their peoples to live, work, think and worship

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as they will), a general economic relationship which will permit their nationals to attain and continue a decent living standard. Primarily, of course, small nations most urgently require that they be protected from the scourge of modern war, that they no longer serve as pawns in the rivalries of general staffs and empires. Without protection from the scourge of war all other rights, have become bereft of meaning.

For this reason the prime concern of the smaller nations at San Francisco is to set up an organization that effectually will guarantee the peace. That this should mean that voting power would be to some extent commensurate with military power is not surprising. On the other hand concentration of the power of decision in the hands of the Big Five carries with it terrible responsibilities. There is also the danger that in certain instances where one major power is obdurate, injustice will be countenanced. But lasting peace cannot be built upon such illusions as independence, self-determination or national sovereignty in their former sense. The hope for the smaller nations and their peoples is inextricably bound to the establishment of an effective international organization and the development of a universally accepted code of law.

### *Peacetime Draft Hearings*

MANY of the current witnesses and much of their testimony on the proposal to enact a peacetime draft in the United States seemed remarkably familiar. This appears to be a final attempt on the part of our Washington military to push through the legislation needed for peacetime conscription while the nation is still in an all-out war. After VJ day its advocates realize that the chances for passage of such measures as the Gurney Bill would be rather thin. Hence the current pressure. Our own editorial opposition to such an enactment has not changed either, since the idea was last on the legislative carpet. Intervention of our military bureaucracy in civilian matters during this war has only strengthened one of the principal reasons for our opposition: the dangers inherent in the development of a large, permanent military bureaucracy, a powerful vested interest whose competence in anything but strictly technical matters is woefully lacking.

One of the most interesting suggestions brought forward at current hearings came from the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It was that boys of military age should train at local or nearby armories regular evenings during the school year and follow this up by an intensive stretch at military camp for a certain number of weeks during the summer. Home influence could then be maintained during their formative stages, careers

would not be interrupted and there would be no need for a vast, permanent officer class.

Of all the witnesses against the proposed legislation the most dramatic was ex-Secretary-of-the-Navy Josephus Daniels. He touched on many points, blaming fear, cynicism and imperialism for all the present shouting. He also attacked conscription on the grounds of effective preparedness in a world of increasingly mechanized weapons. With conditions attractive enough Mr. Daniels contended it would always be possible through volunteers to maintain a highly efficient, compact, mobile force.

### *The Canadian Elections*

AS WE GO to press precise results of the Canadian General Election are not known, but what is known makes it amply clear that the Liberals under Mr. Mackenzie King are still in power with a comfortable, absolute majority in the House of Commons. The Official Opposition will once again be the Progressive Conservatives, as the old Conservative Party now describes itself. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the Social Crediters both have small blocs, and a number of Quebec constituencies have returned "independents" of one sort or another. The net result, then, is that the picture of Canadian politics remains substantially unchanged. Three factors primarily account for this: the feeling that the Canadian Prime Minister has conducted his nation's war effort with as much efficiency, success and tact as could have been expected reasonably. In substance, this is a vote of confidence for Mr. King. A second factor has been Mr. King's adeptness in stealing wide-scale social reforms from the CCFers. His broadening of social security and his introduction of family allowances deprived this more radical party of much of its most widely attractive appeal. Finally, the general prosperity of the country, despite minor wartime scarcities and heavy taxation, continuing over a period of years, has dulled the edge of the electorate's taste for basic change. The problem in Canada we now know is the same as the problem here and probably the same as the problem will be in Great Britain: will it be possible, without more drastic remedies, to avoid falling back into the economic stagnation which preceded this war? If the Liberals cannot do it, the results of the next election may be very different. This much also should be said. If the present election is a great disappointment to Mr. Coldwell and his CCF, it is also a tribute to them, for had they not been present in the House throughout the war years, it is almost certain that Mr. King would have yielded far more to reactionary pressure than he has. They have made it possible for him to enact substantial reforms and get the credit for them.

## Poison Gas

IN FRANCE, commentators on military affairs often used to sign their pieces in such a way as to combine impressive rank with anonymity. There was a General \* \* \*; just as there was a Hennessy \* \* \* Brandy. One result was that no matter what the General said you could not dislike him personally; at most you could talk about the mentality of retired generals, and characteristically the certain aloof pleasure they took in seeing younger men fight and, of course, make mistakes—which they, the Generals \* \* \*, would point out. For, within the limits imposed by censorship, the French military critics of the other war (in this war they did not have time to write many pieces) took their rôle of critics in a serious if somewhat academic way. These critics did not think every play they saw a masterpiece. As for French civilians who wrote about the conduct of the other war, they were uninhibited and violent in their appreciations. Of these civilians, the greatest was Georges Clemenceau who howled so loudly about the way the war was being run that the nation finally gave him the war to run and then he won it.

It has not been like that in America, in this war. Civilians have had little to say about the way the war was conducted. Perhaps the war has been so big that only technicians could look at it without getting lost. Still there were a few matters which might have interested civilians but which from all evidence interested only Mr. Norman Thomas, a few hopeless pacifists, a few cranks and this page in THE COMMONWEAL. One would have supposed, for instance, that the relation between destruction of cities in Europe and the winning of the war might have been a matter for civilians to worry about. There might have been, conceivably, a few civilians to ask that destruction be held to a minimum, if they thought that the structure of European civilization, the material substructure if nothing else, could stand just so great a strain and no greater. Few people appear to have been concerned with such ideas. The war in Europe was conducted with no such worries in mind and now the war in Europe is won and perhaps Europe will survive.

While the war in Europe was fought, the American military critics interpreted the communiqués. They said this may happen, or that, or nothing. So that no matter what happened they were covered. An interesting performance or not. If we learned anything from the military critics it was to expect that they would never judge or oppose any action, or take a stand.

The most plastic of American experts has seemed to be Major George Fielding Eliot. Embarrassingly he has yearned always to be

closer and closer to whatever existed, whatever was decided; nearer and nearer to the lines on the map wherever they might be drawn by the generals. Unquestioning and loyal, Major Eliot has resembled the small boy who, in summer, hands the bat to the batter of the local team; in the fall, the small boy who carries the bucket of water out on the field when the whistle blows; in other seasons the small boy whatever he may be doing for his elders at basketball, hockey—or even when they are shooting craps. So that when the bombers destroyed things and lives they might have spared, it was finally the army that worried about needless destruction. Not Major Eliot. This military critic has a high literary ideal: that of reproducing, untouched, unaltered by any thought of his own, whatever he supposes the army is doing, thinking or desiring.

This is the only reason why sometimes he worries us. On June 6, in the New York *Herald Tribune*, Major Eliot considers the possible use of poison gas to shorten the war against Japan. He is impartial and calm. Because the army has not used poison gas, nor have authorized military leaders suggested publicly that the time has come to use it. Major Eliot simply is saying that should the army decide to use gas it will be all right with him. He says there is a "psychological" difficulty: the American people might be shocked. Quite rightly he says that there is no real difference between killing people by third degree burns and asphyxiating them. That certainly is true. When aviation fuel jelly, flaming and inextinguishable, roasts men alive it might even be kinder to let them gasp quickly and die. So that certainly there is, as Major Eliot concludes, a case for the use of gas against Japan. A technical case.

That is why the case must not be left to technicians, or to military commentators.

Fire and explosives; in Europe we used the modern techniques of war; we are using them now against the Japanese. To the Orient we are bringing the latest inventions of our civilization. There is only one we have not brought. It is gas. If we use that, we will have brought them all. Gas is no worse than flame. It is only that it is one more weapon. The last one we have to use. Until we invent a new one. No. It is not all that we have to use. We could use torture. We could torture the prisoners. And when we get Japanese civilians in our hands we could torture the hostages. We could build death camps. (We have recently been inspecting the models.) And when Japan is conquered we could ruin the rice fields and watch the Japanese starve to death. There are all these things we could do.

Each one would seem only slightly worse, the shock to our feelings would be but slightly sharper, than the time before. That is precisely

the way things happened through the years in Germany. Until the time came when the Germans said anything goes.

So that there is no use arguing whether poison gas is a little worse or not than the flame thrower, the Japanese houses in flames, the millions of Japanese civilians killed. Worse or not, it is one thing more. The time has come when nothing more can be added to the horror if we wish to keep our coming victory something we can use—or that humanity can use.

C. G. PAULDING.

## Socialism: English Version

EGBERT MUNZER

IN NO country of the world was scientific socialism in greater disrepute than in England, the motherland of modern industrialism. But in no country has legislation been used more skillfully for the leveling of incomes than in England. Lloyd George started this process by the increase of death duties; everybody knew that it would need only a few generations to break up the last remnants of the feudal holdings in England by this drain on the landowner's liquid reserves. The first War compelled England to supplement these death duties by a similar increase in the income tax rates. The second War has, it seems, put the finishing touch to this development.

If socialism means, among other things, the leveling of incomes, one can hardly imagine a more radical use of tax legislation for socialist ends than that revealed by a small survey recently released by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons:

| Range of net income (i.e., total gross income as assessed to tax less the income tax and sur-tax payable thereon.) |               | Individuals with net incomes exceeding £150: |                     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| EXCEEDING                                                                                                          | NOT EXCEEDING | YEAR 1938/39<br>Nos.                         | YEAR 1942/3<br>Nos. |
| 150                                                                                                                | 250           | 4,500,000                                    | 7,000,000           |
| 250                                                                                                                | 500           | 1,820,000                                    | 5,300,000           |
| 500                                                                                                                | 1,000         | 450,000                                      | 550,000             |
| 1,000                                                                                                              | 2,000         | 155,000                                      | 117,000             |
| 2,000                                                                                                              | 4,000         | 56,000                                       | 31,750              |
| 4,000                                                                                                              | 4,000         | 12,000                                       | 1,170               |
| 6,000                                                                                                              | ....          | 7,000                                        | 80                  |
| TOTALS                                                                                                             |               | 7,000,000                                    | 13,000,000          |

In Victorian eyes, a wealthy man had to have a net annual income of (after taxes) 2,000 pounds. British war taxation has reduced "rich" people in this sense by more than one half, from 75,000 to 33,000; and this during a period when the British national income and the number of individual taxpayers has doubled. Disposable incomes of over 6,000 pounds a year were quite the rule in the English upper class before 1914.

The remnant of this group, about 7,000 income earners before this war, have now been practically wiped out. Their club of 80 members is hardly larger than the group of pound millionaires before 1914, i.e., those who then earned more than 40,000 pounds net. The decrease in the pound's purchasing power is, of course, left out of this account altogether.

The changes at the lower end of the English income ladder are no less conspicuous. The war inflation led to a flight from the lowest income group covered by the survey above: while the number of income tax payers doubled as a result of the war, the group of people earning between 150 and 250 pounds per year increased by only 50 percent. A large proportion of tax payers who were in this group shifted to the following bracket, of 250 to 500 pounds annual income after taxes. They were particularly hard pressed by the rise in prices and managed to obtain rises in their nominal incomes. Apart from the influx of formerly lower-paid people this group was greatly reinforced by the draft upon the unemployed and all those who entered employment for the duration.

To put it in a nutshell: the war doubled the British national income and the number of income tax payers, raised the average disposable income by about 50 percent, reduced the number of well-to-do people by one half, and wiped out almost completely the really rich. One is tempted to quote King Henry IV: "O God! that one might read the book of fate, and see the revolution of the times make mountains level . . ."

The last two wars have certainly leveled the purses of Englishmen.

There is some irony in every turn of history. Just before the outbreak of the present war the Webbs and other analysts of Soviet economics startled the world by revealing that the spread between the lowest and the highest incomes in the Soviet Union had steadily been increasing and amounted to about one to sixty, then. The war is very likely to have reversed this trend, and consumption has been notoriously low in Russia ever since the invasion by the nazis. But there is little doubt that the income structure of the communist state moved wholly contrary to that of England, the cradle of what is called modern capitalism, and inversely to what one should expect. Perhaps words such as communism and capitalism do not mean anything any more, or should be avoided in this context. But the man in the street *will* regard income differences as significant for the kind of economy in which he is living; and from this point of view we can assure him that England is in the midst of a leveling process that makes her economy hardly distinguishable from what common sense calls communism.

# Austrian Reconstruction

An Austrian indicates the policy  
America and Britain should pursue

Ernst Karl Winter

THE VERY existence of a new Austria depends on constructive cooperation between the West and the East, the Right and the Left. For the moment the spheres of influence which sub-divide Europe also partition the body of Austria, occupied as she is by four armies with lines of demarcation still military secrets. While the Russians have permitted a central government under Dr. Karl Renner, with Social Democrats, Communists and Christian Socialists to come into being at Vienna, as well as several provincial governments in their zone of occupation, the Western Allies still insist on the administration of Austria by an inter-allied commission and on enforcement of non-fraternization rules. Here are clearly two contradictory philosophies. While the Russian-sponsored Austrian Provisional Government is going full-blast, the Western Allies wait and look for another Yalta, where, as everything intimates, they will ultimately legalize what has happened in the meantime.

For two years the two men responsible for the foreign policy of the Western world, Roosevelt and Churchill, yielded to Russian wishes, pressures or actions, in order to win the war first. Both less accommodation, as well as a less insistent approach in some instances, would have meant greater foresight concerning post-war cooperation. Now Russia has taken on the political position of Germany in Central and Eastern Europe, with long shadows stretching over Western Europe, the Alps, the Rhine and even the Channel. With Vienna and Berlin in Russian hands, and with Rome and Paris tending to the left, it is now somewhat late in the day, whatever turn the British electorate may choose, for mere counter-pressure demonstrating that the Western Allies can also be stiff and coy. Neither accommodation nor obstinacy can replace that constructive firmness by which alone will Russian unilateralism and pragmatism not only be checked, but transformed into something better. This, at least, is how things look from the center.

Although there has never been as complete a news blackout in any country under Allied control during the entire war as there now exists for everything Austrian, several facts stand out very clearly. First of all, the blackout itself proves

that those responsible for it know the pivotal character of the Austrian problem, on the slippery ground of which the Western Allies seem to have suffered their first major post-war defeat. The Russians have acted both shrewdly and constructively by allowing an Austrian coalition government to come into being. And since the Western Allies seem unreconciled to this *fait accompli*, still insisting upon the idea of an inter-Allied commission to administer Austria, the Russians now take on the appearance of being champions of Austrian liberty and independence. While the Austrians in the East enjoy at least the semblance of self-government under the Russian occupation, their brothers in the West are dealt with by the Western Allies as some kind of perhaps less refractory, but rather more contemptible Germans.

The Austrian zones of occupation originally agreed upon by the Big Three were at least temporarily swept aside by the military events of the final German collapse. As no other agreement has been concluded to date, the lines of demarcation are identical with the military positions reached in the final dash. With Vienna, Lower Austria and strategic parts of Upper Austria and Styria in Russian hands, their position is very strong. Thus Graz, the capital of Styria originally destined to be under British control, is in fact occupied by the Russians, who have allowed a provincial government after the Viennese model to take over there. Officially it is said that the British-Russian line of demarcation runs through Voitsberg, 20 kilometers west of Graz. Where the Americans and the Russians have met in Upper Austria has not been revealed. I doubt the assumptions of some commentators (like Hanson W. Baldwin of the *New York Times*) who think it possible that Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, originally liberated by the American Third Army, is occupied by the Russians. Against this assumption stands the fact that nothing has been heard of a provincial government being instituted there.

If the Western Allies intended to re-establish provincial governments in Western Austria (Upper Austria, Salzburg, the Tyrol, Vorarlberg), as the Russians have done everywhere in Eastern Austria (the Burgenland, Lower Austria, Styria),

they have not succeeded everywhere. In Carinthia alone a provincial government came into existence under Western Allied occupation simultaneously with the one in Styria and on the same coalition basis, which was at least at first "not opposed" by the politically "disinterested" British Eighth Army. Appealing to both Germans and Slovenes, this government came out for an "undivided Carinthia." A fortnight later, after the Yugoslav army had been required to leave Carinthia, and Marshal Alexander had proclaimed the establishment of the AMG on Austrian territory, the provincial government of Carinthia seemed to be suspended. The AMG took over, it was said, "supreme legislative, judicial and executive authority and powers"; therefore it may eventually tolerate a provincial government, but it obviously wants to preclude any compromise with the central government.

According to the latest news, not yet fully confirmed, a provincial government has been formed in the Tyrol under Christian Socialist leadership. Also in the case of Salzburg the re-establishment of political continuity would be particularly easy, as the former provincial governor, Dr. Rehrl, who held this post under both the democratic republic and the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg régime, has been liberated from a concentration camp by the American Army.

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However this may be, neither the non-fraternization rule nor the administration of Western Austria by the AMG realistically meshes with the fact that only a few miles to the East an Austrian Provisional Government exists, in which the most respected, most democratic and most conservative leaders to survive nazism of the two main Austrian parties, the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists (Renner, Kunschak, Buchinger) cooperate with each other. In Eastern Austria presumably the very opposite of non-fraternization is practiced. Thus in Graz there is self-government, while 20 kilometers to the west, in the mining district around Voitsberg, the AMG rules as victor in a conquered country.

When the Russians entered Austria, they at once greeted the Austrians as their allies, eager to announce to the world that the Austrians themselves fought the Germans and thus saved their national honor.

When Marshal Alexander established the AMG, he said officially: "The Allied forces enter Austria as victors inasmuch as Austria has waged war as an integral part of Germany against the United Nations."

This ill-conceived sentence only paraphrases the statement on Austria made by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons as recently as March, with its lineage tracing back to the Moscow Dec-

laration of 1943 (see my analysis in the *Nation* of May 26). It is obvious that "Austria" did not exist as either a juridical or a moral entity, capable of acting and "waging war" after the *Anschluss* was carried out in March, 1938, with the pre-Munich connivance of Western Europe. If the economic and military potential of Austria (and Czechoslovakia) could be used by the Germans against Europe, those mainly responsible for it were the British and the French (with Mussolini acting as *maître d'hôtel*), who sold those countries down the river and thereby bought a breathing-space of peace for themselves. If the British now solemnly repeat their theory of Austrian coresponsibility with Germany, while the Russians proclaim precisely the opposite interpretation of history, where do they hope to get any support? Does anyone in the Western world really believe that any Austrian party or group or leader—unless it be some who for material reasons are anxious to destroy cooperation between Russia and the Western powers—will side with the British and Americans against the Russians in this contest of philosophies? Not even those who really prefer Western civilization to the Russian enigma will do that, as they then might well find themselves in the ridiculous position of being more "papal" than the "pope," and left out in the cold once another Yalta has inevitably legalized the accomplished facts, in order to avoid a permanent *ex-lex* state of affairs, which would push at least Eastern Austria still more into the Russian orbit.

If dispatches from London (e.g., Clifton Daniel in the *New York Times*) correctly reflect what influential people are thinking in the British capital, their illusions seem to be great. Since Russia herself has not yet recognized the Austrian Provisional Government, the argument runs, AMG in Western Austria will lead to eventual agreement on the amalgamated administration of the whole of Austria by all four powers. Mr. Grew seems to advocate the same thesis.

This is simply an illusion. If it reflects policy, there is not much basis for it. Once the central government and various provincial governments have already been established, their abolition—even if all four powers agreed to it—would necessarily be a step backward. Russia, by joining in such action, would obviously be moving backward, something which, with her Oriental concern for prestige, she has not yet done. If, then, the Russians do not yield and the Western Allies continue to administer Austria primarily by AMG methods, without provincial governments and without contact between local administration and Vienna, the cleavage would become complete. It would be even worse in case of a formal agreement concerning the zones of occupation.

For, assuming that the original agreement

about the zones of occupation is adhered to by all four powers, it might then easily happen that certain parts of Austria liberated by the Russians, which have enjoyed both a central and a provincial government of their own, would find themselves suddenly thrown back again into a tutelage symbolized by both the non-fraternization rule and the AMG, the latter abolishing self-government wherever the Americans and the British enter villages and cities evacuated by the Russians. This would certainly not supply a happy object lesson on Western democracy to the Austrian people, although it would in fact be no more than a demonstration of a none-too-workable adjustment to realities by American and British foreign policy.

The policy of non-fraternization and of the AMG in Western Austria seemingly is intended to punish the Austrians for the deeds of others; for Russian non-conformity with the wishes of the Western Allies; for the German folly of accepting leadership from a frustrated Austrian; last, but not least, for all the omissions and failures and blunders which Western Europe committed in allowing Germany to absorb Austria. For all these errors, crimes or differences, "Austria" now seems to be the scapegoat.

Yet surely this ill-advised policy will boom-rang. The philosophy of history espoused by Eden and Alexander obviously is water for German mills which, though they may for a while be satisfied to grind Russian corn, yet will do so only in the hope of thereby keeping themselves going. And in the process they will weld their own ideas with the Russian compound. Is this the intention? The negative attitude of Western policy may well bring Austrians of all parties to the conviction that conditions in the world today, as it stands, are nowhere as favorable for them as in the Russian orbit. If ever they are to see this as an illusion, evidence to the contrary must be made available. If the Western Allies think they need only wait for the natural reaction which follows upon every illusion, they may well be grimly deceived.

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There is every reason in the existing situation for the Western Allies to formulate a more realistic policy concerning Austria. The Renner government in Vienna certainly is the best for which both Austrians and the Western powers could hope, the Russian armies being *de facto* in charge of Viennese affairs. In the Renner coalition cabinet, the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists—both by their very nature and tradition certainly more orientated toward the West—deserve every encouragement and support from the Western powers in the interest of all, Russians not excepted. Utter disinterest, now manifested

with so much emphasis, might well result in the disappearance of these Westward-looking partners from the coalition, and thus produce a more stream-lined Leftism. For the Russians, the coalition government has meaning only as a bridge to the West. If this bridge fails to function, champions of an exclusively Communist régime might come to the fore. The Western powers would still be helpless to do anything about it, and such a turn might shake democratic and conservative forces in Austria to their very foundations.

The recognition of the Renner government by all the powers is indeed the most suitable means for Austrian reconstruction. The Russians would hardly be able to insist on its retaining its present form, with two leftist parties outweighing the Christian Socialists. The Western Allies could easily broaden the régime by the inclusion in it of the Catholic conservative forces of Western Austria, where the probable leaders in at least four provincial governments either might form a fourth coalition party or amalgamate with the Christian Socialists, again constituting the party of the Right, as both Social Democrats and Communists are the potential bloc of the Left. Only such a power equilibrium between Right and Left will guarantee a sound structure in the Austria to come. If these Catholic conservatives should amalgamate with monarchism, they will maneuver themselves out of the picture. If they, however, continue the tradition of the peasant leaders of the First Republic (such as Jodok Fink of Vorarlberg, vice-chancellor of the original Renner cabinet in 1918-20, and the most respected Catholic leader of that time) they may again become the very key to Austria's future, in which agriculture and the peasantry will play a most decisive rôle. And their natural realm lies in the provincial governments of Western Austria.

Although one cannot deny that these Catholic conservative forces of Western Austria along some of their fringes may be subject to the influences of monarchism or authoritarianism, such influences will not prove to be of real political significance so long as the Communists at the other end of the scale continue to stick to their own conservative coalition policy. And in return the final abandonment of both monarchism and authoritarianism by any politically important groups of Catholic conservatives in Western Austria will equally strengthen the coalition policy of the Communists.

A symbol of this very interplay in fact is Schuschnigg, who, after his liberation from the nazis, has reportedly been taken to the island of Capri for special examination, together with various German inmates of nazi concentration camps. (United Nations inmates have been released.) This little item again indicates the same

odd handling of Austrian affairs. Schuschnigg certainly has committed grave political errors, of which this writer has been an implacable castigator. But so also have Renner and Kunschak, in their own careers.

Not even his most radical adversaries, however, deny Schuschnigg's courage or withhold their respect for his sufferings. After his liberation he displayed his political instinct by acclaiming at once an "independent and democratic Austria" (in the same set of interviews, by the way, in which Niemoeller, either *anima candida* or because he is still a nationalist, announced his intention of going back to Berlin to fight Bolshevism). Schuschnigg, if he could be prevailed upon clearly to renounce his authoritarian errors and to profess democracy in its republican and parliamentary substance, would not only be a born leader for the Catholic conservatives in the Tyrol, but would be a really great asset to Catholic policy in Austria, a thorough sign of the radical elimination of authoritarianism from Austria which would also once for all end the vague possibility of monarchism. Surely the Russians would not really object to such a move so long as it were clearly dissociated from any monarchistic, authoritarian or nazi reaction, and were designed to strengthen the coalition government in Vienna.\*

If all these constructive steps are not taken, if precious time is lost, if the accomplished facts

\*Dr. Winter's views on Schuschnigg are entirely his own.  
—THE EDITORS.

are allowed to petrify, much worse things will happen later. Neither the permanent partition of Austria among the great powers nor some later reaction against the coalition idea on the part of the Russians or of the Austrians themselves is desirable or to the interest of Europe. Austria needs both Russia and the West, not merely one of them. Without the shadow of Russia on the horizon of the West, the social interests of the European masses would not find adequate representation, just as without the reciprocal shadow of the Western world on the horizon of the East, the moral and intellectual values of Western civilization would soon be in jeopardy.

The historic function of Austria during the coming decades of European reconstruction is the amalgamation of *Western democracy*, which is political democracy aiming at social democracy, with what may be called *Eastern socialism*, which is social democracy aiming at political democracy. If both worlds develop logically, they may some day meet. Somewhere in the center they have already met. The interest of Austria is to emphasize this meeting, and to eliminate any ambition on the part of any Austrian group to serve merely as the appendix of one against the other. Here both the West and the East have exactly the same interest as Austria. The East has shown some proper awareness of this interest by its idea of a coalition régime. The West will have to show its own awareness much better than it has done so far.

## Mexico and U. S. Racism

How Mexicans view our  
treatment of minorities

Hensley C. Woodbridge

PERHAPS the day will come when Americans realize and admit to themselves that the treatment of American minorities—which they may consider to be entirely an internal affair—is of grave and serious importance in the field of international relations. To reconcile the ideas expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, or the high and lofty democratic phrases of our nation's leaders with the treatment of our Japanese-American citizens even in time of national danger, with the rankest type of racial discrimination against Mexicans, our good neighbors to the south, or with the continuance of Jim Crow, the poll-tax, and all the rest requires real juggling of logic.

This brief article attempts to portray the Mexican reaction, as seen through the Mexican

press, to our discrimination against our minorities and more especially against our population of Mexican ancestry inhabiting chiefly our vast Southwest. The Mexican press feels that when one minority has been ill-treated, it retards the progress of all; that when one racial or national group has progressed either on the cultural, economic, social or legal level, this is a sign of improvement for all minorities generally.

It is probably true that nothing at the present moment is so harmful to relations between Mexico and the United States as the discrimination practiced against the Mexicans in the United States. There are several million US citizens of Mexican ancestry and many citizens of Mexico are working in the United States to help relieve certain crucial war-labor shortages. The Mex-

ican is extremely conscious of discrimination because *race* distinction does not exist in Mexico. The Mexican cannot reconcile the fact that the United States is the world's largest democracy with the fact that discrimination exists in so many spheres, and he will often ask if it is not these same ideological trends against which the American armed forces are fighting.

Of course officials seek, in the interests of amity, to minimize matters. On May 10 at San Francisco, Ezequiel Padilla, Mexican Foreign Secretary, made the following statement: "Cases of discrimination about which I have been recently informed are of an individual nature and do not represent the attitude of our neighbors." Praising Governor Coke Stevenson of Texas, whose conduct Padilla described as "exemplary," he continues: "The North American conscience is against discrimination. The neighboring countries of Mexico and the United States should cooperate so that an end may be put to discrimination, since this discrimination casts aspersions on the prestige of the United States" (*Ultimas Noticias*, May 10).

However, the average Mexican is much more apt to share the sentiments of Victor Velasquez, who, writing in *La Prensa Grafica* (May 8), has these very "penetrating" remarks to make about the racial situation in the United States. These remarks show little knowledge of the true state of affairs, yet they are a sign of the type of information certain Mexican papers publish: "The United States is a country of contradictions and contrasts which upset the observer who contemplates it for the first time. The Indians live on 'reservations', forerunners of concentration camps. The Negroes, practically deprived of the exercise of their political rights, find themselves segregated from the rest of the population. *In spite of the Good Neighbor Policy, our compatriots are victims of the most hateful vexations.* Nevertheless, the same individuals who violate equality before the law and who consider themselves of a superior caste, look with indignation upon racial theories and condemn the persecutions that have arisen from their practice." Is it any wonder that there are Mexicans who seem firmly to believe that the United States is more hypocritical than democratic?

*Lectura*, an anti-American bi-monthly, constantly harps on the subject. Here are a few of its comments: "In the United States, they despise us. They call us greasy and dirty and do not consider us worthy to associate with them. In the United States they send our consuls to eat in the kitchen or they do not serve them at all" (December 15, 1944). In an article entitled "From Racial Discrimination to Our Blood Contribution," i.e., the Mexican contribution to the war effort, we find these remarks: "As we have

seen and know so well, racial discrimination does exist. For many citizens of the United States the Mexican is a contemptible person. It does not matter to the American that he has money and that he has earned it with the sweat of his brow. With this money he cannot eat in the same restaurants nor can he frequent the same places of amusement and recreation as the North American. In some places he cannot even shop in the stores because these stores will not admit him. Racial discrimination, humiliation for the Mexican, exists because there are North Americans who believe themselves to be superior beings. North Americans are waging a war against Germany and against the ideas for which Germany is fighting, one of which is the superiority of the Aryan. But that group of North Americans who despise the Mexican has become seduced by the racial ideas of Germany. And above all: the United States, while opposing the racial theories of Germany, feeds, sustains and cultivates this racism in its own territory against Mexicans and against Negroes, and in many sections of the country there is more scorn for the Mexicans than for the Negro" (January 1). This same magazine points out that even Padilla, were he traveling incognito in the United States, would be discriminated against because his skin is dark, and "then his lyrical speeches extolling the Good Neighbor would be replaced by just and deeply-felt recriminations."

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*Tiempo*, the most important and best of the Mexican magazines devoted entirely to news, has constantly averaged a column a week dealing with racial discrimination in the United States. When the Japanese-Americans were allowed to return to the West Coast early this year, this magazine devoted more attention to this matter than did *Time* and *Newsweek* combined. A column and a half was devoted to the Ives-Quinn (New York) Act. *Tiempo* recently began a column entitled "Mexico Outside of Mexico," which deals with the activities of Mexicans in the United States and often with cases of discrimination against them.

Discrimination has been practiced against every type of Mexican in the United States, from the "bracero" to the pilots, members of the Mexican 201st Air Squadron now in Manila, even to Mexican senators paying a courtesy visit in the United States.

*Mañana*, a large and influential weekly, hardly allows a week to go by without pointing out some new and specific example of discrimination. "There is no doubt that Mexican workers in the state of Oregon are and continue to be victims of an anti-Mexican phobia. This regardless of the fact that the contracts stipulate that they

shall be paid the same as North American workers; while the North American laborer is paid \$150 a month, the Mexicans (because they are Mexicans?) are paid a maximum of \$120. This discriminatory action is eloquent testimony that we can use to measure and understand the degree of esteem in which Mexicans are held in the United States. And as long as nothing is done to prevent these injustices and as long as these anti-human and absurd acts continue they do so with gravest prejudice and harm for American understanding and good-will."

*Tiempo*, *Futuro* and *El Popular*, the socialist trade union daily, all gave attention to a CIO report showing that Mexican workers were receiving much less pay than Texan workers for the same work. One of the most striking discriminatory acts that received practically universal publicity was the refusal of a restaurant in Pecos, Texas, to serve Eugenio Prado, Senator and President of the Permanent Commission of the Mexican Congress, deputy Teófilo Borunda and the Municipal President of Chihuahua; the excuse given for this refusal was that the men were Mexicans. Certain dailies even made the suggestion that the Mexican government should officially protest to the American government. Once again, *Mañana* (April 6) will be quoted, for the usual newspaper has very few editorial comments and when one searches for Mexican opinion it is much more likely to be found in the weeklies: "The insult is an unpardonable one; it was an act contrary to the most elementary democratic ideas and to undeniable friendship between the two countries; it is doubly censurable because an unpardonable offense has been committed against a representative of one of the branches of the nation's government. Senator Prado is the President of the Permanent Congressional Committee and consequently the offense was not only against him personally, but against the power that he represents, that is the Mexican people. Before these examples of injustices and acts of this kind which taken *in toto* may reach the point of injuring and harming the great amity between Mexico and the United States, it is necessary that the American authorities take serious and definitive measures against all persons executing discriminatory acts against Mexicans, because this signifies, nothing more or less, than a clear and patent sabotage to continental unity."

Unfortunately, lack of space forbids a discussion of the discriminatory acts against members of the Mexican 201st Air Squadron while it was being trained in Texas. Some of these have been checked by Mexican consular officials and from time to time they appear in news reports and editorial comments. The Mexicans do not believe that the average American realizes

that the Mexicans have contributed to the common war effort not only economically, but by sending thousands of men of Mexican ancestry to fight on all the battle fronts. A Mexican has a right to feel that if "two hundred Mexican boys [members of the Air Squadron] stand ready in the Pacific to help win the peace," he should be treated as a human being and not chased out of a restaurant with the exclamation: "No Mexicans or dogs can enter my store."

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It is true that the picture is not entirely hopeless. "During three years of war that the United States has fought with such honor and heroic fortitude, one can see positive signs and negative signs in regard to the racial problem. And though former practices still exist, we should not be blinded to the fact that some favorable symptoms can be noted." These are the words of Pedro de Alba, writing in *El Nacional*, the official organ of the Mexican government, on May 10.

The Mexican press has given enormous publicity to the Spears Bill recently passed in the Texas Senate. This bill would attempt to eliminate discrimination against Mexicans by levying heavy fines and jail sentences on persons so offending. *El Universal* (January 11) placed the United Press dispatch on its front page with a headline that said: "Possibly Something Practical Dealing with Discrimination"; *El Nacional* declared in its headlines: "The Senate of the United States [sic] Received the Text of a Law to Punish Discriminatory Crimes"; *Novedades*, *La Prensa*, *El Popular* and *Excelsior* all placed dispatches dealing with the Spears Bill either on their front pages or in another almost as prominent location, following it through from the time it was introduced to the time it was passed, a period of four months.

The Mexican Committee Against Racism . . . declared with regard to the Spears Bill; "The Mexican Committee Against Racism . . . considers that this is the first transcontinental step to eliminate the segregation practices that Mexicans and other Latin Americans suffer in this state. While the Committee considers the raising of the cultural level of the population the best means of ending racism in Texas, as wherever else it is manifested, it also believes that a law against discriminatory acts will help eradicate ignoble and disturbing racial prejudices" (published January 12 in *El Nacional*, *La Prensa* and other capital papers as well as in the *World-over Press*, February 7). The Committee further declared in *Fraternidad*, its monthly publication: "The interest that the presentation of such a law arouses is not only local, that is to say, it is not a fact that concerns only the Texan

population, nor the Mexicans and Latin Americans of birth or origin that live in that state. The importance has a scope that is both North American and continental."

It would hardly be fitting to discuss the Mexican reaction to the race problem in the United States without mentioning the part that the Mexican Committee Against Racism has played in keeping before the public events of a constructive and liberal nature as well as happenings of the discriminatory variety. This committee, whose president is Enrique Gonzales Martinez, a leading writer, and whose officers include men like Torres-Bodet and Gustavo Baz (cabinet officers), Raul Noriega, editor of *El Nacional*, Dolores del Rio, Alfonso Reyes, Eduardo Villaseñor, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, and a score of other intellectuals, authors, government officials and leaders, was organized several years ago with the aim of fighting racial prejudice wherever it is found, and especially by working with groups of like aim in the United States, to try to improve the lot of the Mexican in the United States. Its eight-page monthly, *Fraternidad*, contains news, editorial comments, a two-page English section and a list of recent examples of discrimination against Mexicans. It has followed and commented upon the notorious miscarriage of justice in the Sleepy Lagoon Case, discriminatory actions in the fields of labor, education, etc. Its comments and criticisms are just and fair and what should hurt and shock the American is their truth.

## Communications

### THE CHURCH AND THE "ISMS"

Pittsburgh, Pa.

TO the Editors: I have read with interest the letter of H. T. Maguire which appears in your issue of June 1. It is, sad to say, like too many of your articles in the past few years, critical of the Church and of churchmen to a degree not warranted by the facts.

I am not a churchman, so I will allow the clergy to speak for themselves. But as a layman, I would like to know what public protests Mr. H. T. Maguire himself made against Fascism between 1920 and 1930, the period during which he attacks the Church and Catholics generally for their silence. Does he come into this controversy with clean hands? Did his foresight equal his hindsight?

Will Mr. Maguire also cite for us any public protests of any single government in the whole world against Fascism during that period?

ALBERT A. JACKSON.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: The student of Catholic history who wants to know what was the Church's record during the period 1920-1939 should have no trouble find-

ing out if he consults the authentic documents. He will find that the Church, governed during most of that period by one of the ablest and most vigorous of all the popes, was the vigilant guardian of the deposit of faith once delivered to the saints and that in the fulfillment of her mission she denounced fearlessly the errors of our time, whether they came from the democracies or the totalitarian powers. He will find too that the most urgent warnings and the strongest condemnations were reserved for communism which was and is regarded by the Holy See as the mortal enemy of the Church.

Hence he should not be surprised to find that, as Mr. Maguire points out, "during the two decades that witnessed the rise and crystallization of fascism and communism Catholic intellectual leadership in America directed its most severe, unequivocal and persistent condemnation against communism and soft-pedaled the fight against fascism." The American Catholics simply followed the policy of the Holy See, a policy concerned entirely with the interests of religion and true civilization, not with the political prestige of particular countries and cultures. Viewed in such a light communism was and is the greater evil. The particularism of the Nazi creed, its emphasis on blood, etc., was precisely the reason why it could never hope to win a sincere non-German convert. Moreover, even though it desired to do so, the Nazi Government never succeeded in crushing the Church as it was crushed in Russia. The Church in Italy was in a much better position than the Church in Germany and Russia, and provided outspoken condemnation of fascist errors. This was quite different from the state of affairs in Russia, where a militant atheistic minority, usurping the authority and resources of a mighty empire, established a complete despotism there and fomented revolution all over the world. The things Mr. Maguire finds admirable in communism are the things that make it very dangerous and explain the universal appeal that justifiably arouses more concern than the crude racist myths of the Nazis.

It is when the three great enemies of democracy are viewed from the political angle, as threats to the power of England and America, that the situation changes. For a while Berlin and Rome were a grave and immediate danger to that position, which explains the current excitement here about their false philosophies of government. It explains too the feeling of some American Catholics that somehow or other the Catholics have missed the bus. They want the Church to go all out in the ideological war now raging here, and are a bit embarrassed because she insists on condemning communism too at a time when purely political considerations counsel silence on that point. If it were not for that insistence she would be very popular in some places where she does not always find a hearing. Some powerful pressure groups, glad of her aid, would speak well of her, at least for a time. Some Catholics manifest a pathetic eagerness to defend sound principle and to do good works with "the right people," a chance our people have not often had. They find it difficult to explain to their new, and often temporary, friends that the Church stands where she must

stand, and condemns all errors, from whatever source, impartially. Such Catholics fail to see that the one-sided view to which an understandable desire to manifest patriotic solidarity with their fellow-citizens leads them is as wrong as the soft-pedaling of some aspects of Catholic teaching they lament in the German and Italian Catholics. All three systems must be condemned, as Pius XI condemned them. The emphasis attached by individuals to the condemnation will be determined by the yardstick they use. If that yardstick is religion then communism is the greater enemy. If it is politics then nazism and fascism have been such until very recently.

It is safe to say that in five years time many ideas fashionable now because of the excitement of the moment will seem hard to understand. Among them will be the belief that militant atheistic communism, now entrenched, largely through Anglo-American aid, in the ancient Christian lands of central and eastern Europe, and dominating the largest white population and land area ever contained in a single empire, was ever less of a menace to Christianity than the Italy of Mussolini or the Germany of Hitler. If the leaders of American Catholic opinion then, as ever in the past, follow the directives of the Holy See instead of the ever shifting currents of political opinion they, at least, will have no occasion for the public acknowledgment of error now demanded by those who allow themselves to speak of "a healthy Catholic instinct" that is not in accord with those directives.

THE REV. FLORENCE D. COHALAN.

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

TO the Editors: As an American and as a Catholic whose brothers and other very dear relatives and friends are still fighting to bring this war to a successful end, I feel a deep sense of gratitude to THE COMMONWEAL for its judicious and balanced editorial this week, "Russian Developments" (June 8). After the excoriating and highly inflammatory remarks of the Knights of Columbus, after some ill-sensed sermons I have heard on "bolshivism", I am grateful that a Catholic periodical such as THE COMMONWEAL exists.

Incidentally, I hope that many Americans heard Mr. Sumner Welles over the radio on May 29, on this point and others concerning our foreign policy, and that they had the opportunity to contrast his words of wisdom with the highly dangerous dynamite in Mrs. Claire Booth Luce's speech that followed immediately after on the same network. To this listener it seemed that both speakers were fully aware of a great peril that threatened our country and the world. Mr. Sumner Welles viewed it, however, with the calmness with which a skilled physician views an alarming disease, knowing that there is a remedy for it; Mrs. Luce seemed to me, at least, to be combating it about as effectively as Mussolini and Hitler with their wild speeches.

And since we are on the subject, I hope every Catholic read carefully the Pope's last discourse (on his feast day) as a model of sobriety in these most dangerous times when wild talk can do so much damage. Also, I hope that all Catholics will remember that, God forbid,

were war to break out between us and Russia, the world will completely forget Mr. Churchill's provocative remarks on that point, it will forget Mrs. Luce and the rest, but it will always remember the Catholics who are on Mr. Churchill's and Mrs. Luce's side. The rest of us Catholics, alack and alas, they will forget, along with the Pope, just as they have forgotten that there were some number of us (along with the Pope) who were opposed to fascism.

ANGELINE H. LOGRASSO.

San Francisco, Calif.

TO the Editors: I desire to express my hearty approval of the views set forth by H. T. Maguire in his letter in the current number of THE COMMONWEAL under the title "The Church and the 'Isms.'" I agree with Mr. Maguire that the editors of many of our Catholic newspapers and magazines would seem to have lost their sense of proportion in their treatment of the subjects of fascism and communism. Entirely too much space is being given to passionate attacks on communism and too little space to analyses of the evils of fascism. Needless to say, I consider, as does Mr. Maguire, that both of these pathological forms of government are objectionable.

But in my opinion our editors would accomplish more good than they are now accomplishing if they would employ some of the space that they are now giving to attacks on the Russian form of government to dissertations on the analogous evils of the fascist form of government whatever may be the religion of the majority of the citizens of such governments. Those editors might well study and emulate the writings of His Holiness Pope Pius XII, who temperately and dispassionately analyzes and points out the evils that characterize both the communist and fascist forms of government.

May I add that THE COMMONWEAL is a refreshing exception to that tendency to which I refer.

ROBERT MCWILLIAMS.

#### AN APPEAL

Truro, Mass.

TO the Editors: I have just received a letter from the Capuchin Bishop Guido Beck de Ramberga in Chile, which might be of interest to some of your readers.

Bishop Beck, a German, has for years labored in Southern Chile, a territory largely inhabited and controlled by Germans, where he also conducts many missions and holds services among the Araucanian Indians. During the years of nazi successes, this was a dangerously pro-nazi district; and during all these years Bishop Beck fearlessly conducted his anti-nazi and pro-ally propaganda. Under the conditions which he faced, this was heroic work. Most of his German parishioners ruthlessly opposed him. His family in Germany and Capuchins within reach of Hitler were threatened with reprisals unless the Bishop held his peace. But he went on with his open anti-nazi work, which he declared was simply his duty as a Christian. Here is a *proved* friend, not a fair-weather friend, of democracy and religion.

In his letter, after discussing his wish to bring Catholic German prisoners of war to southern Chile, the saintly Bishop writes: "Here in these Araucanian lands, we have recently suffered great misfortunes and losses. In Panguipulli, a fire destroyed the Church, the parish house, the school, the hospital and the workshops—a loss of over a million Chilean pesos. And two weeks ago, our village church also was burned. Moreover, we must now build in Villarica, where I shall fix my residence next year, a house for me and a small Cathedral."

The hostility of most of the Germans in Chile has deprived the Bishop of the financial support which he could have expected had he kept silent during the years of war. He proved himself a saintly friend of our cause. It would be a splendid recompense if Americans, whether Catholics or not, could—out of their abundance—give the Bishop some of the help he needs and so greatly deserves.

His address is Guido Beck de Ramberga Obispo y Vic. Apostólico, San José de Mariquina, Chile.

WALDO FRANK.

## The Stage & Screen

### Concert Varieties

I THINK if I were more learned in the history of the great days of vaudeville, I would be better able to assess its moribund refinements as dished by Billy Rose, and tiredly ushered by Deems Taylor through a reverberating microphone at the Ziegfeld. However, without the necessary background, I feel fairly stymied by the present exhibition and can only say it seemed to me to represent the theater at its most despairingly lunatic. The question of the microphone used for intramural purposes is of course paramount. If it were employed merely for architectural reasons, there might be some excuse for it, although this would still constitute a symptom of lunacy since why build a theater too big for human actors to handle. However, as I say, building has nothing to do with it; the Ziegfeld has been played by human actors before and will be again. The trouble is that this detestable invention has become a style. Even in the smallest nightclubs, where the size of the floor is that of a postage stamp and where the spectators hem the performer on all sides, still the mike is in use, standing directly in the midst, directly in front of the performer's face. The question I want to ask is this: *why?* With a radio in every home, with television soon to be as commonplace, why should one travel anywhere in order to behold a singer, crowded into a spotlight on one of the most beautifully proportioned stages of the town, and mouthing into a microphone. Does it make sense? Does it make music? Does it prove skill, or technical ability, or emotional power? Does it increase the possibilities of communication—all the play back and forth between actor and house—which is the great singular quality elevating the theater from among the mechanical

arts? My answer to all these subsidiary questions is, *no*. But I think until some great clown—Savo, perhaps?—takes the microphone to pieces in some sort of skit, allows it to talk back, jump about, and finally strangles it to death (or better, allows it to strangle him!) the current bird-brain business will continue. For the present, the louder the noise, the louder the applause. It's a disgusting spectacle.

For players, Zero Mostel was certainly my choice among the comics. I think he's very funny, and he has that special kind of mischievousness one always associates with the old-time Vaudeville Kings. This has to do with taking the audience in on it every once in a while; fooling everyone and no one, all at once. It's neat, needs no mike, and has the house leaning forward rather than settling back to be blasted away. Katherine Dunham and her company I think quite wonderful, an experience. These West Indian Dances are perfectly set and lit, and their story needs no preliminary note, just as the virtuosity and passion of her own and her partners' dancing impels participation rather than judgment. There is a kind of loose, slow, and then flaring, and then abandoned progress about the various pieces which seems to give an alien the exact tempo and flavor of the tropic days. On the other hand, one finds the program-legend for Jerome Robbins's Ballet, "Interplay," with music by Morton Gould, to be far more intriguing than the piece. A good and subtle set by Carl Kent jangles with the assorted rompers he has designed as costumes for this cast of supposedly adult dancers. Mr. Robbins's determined emphasis on Adorable Youth is wearing, I think. And in this instance, slick and tiresome. For the rest, Imogene Coca is small for the size of the doings, but frequently delighting; and the prospect of the Salicis displaying as much of the puppeteers as of the marvelous puppets is perhaps really the phenomenon of the evening. But fooling about with the metaphysical extensions of belief in the theater is work for a Lorca or Pirandello (poets), I am afraid, in order to command even so much as respect. (*At the Ziegfeld.*)

*Note:* Writing *Wintergreen* for *Throttlebottom* last week is just about the high-low for this column's aberration department. Herewith my apologies to Mr. Moore, Mr. Gaxton, Mr. Kaufman, the profession, the town, the nation, the world.

KAPPO PHELAN.

### The Wonder Boys

IN THIS week's bill, three of Hollywood's leading males are starred in three very different pictures. You better be sure, before you go, that you enjoy watching these men, for they are made to seem, at least for the moment, as very big stuff indeed. The films don't go out of their way to say the boys are right, but they do exhibit their heroes as wonderfully smart guys.

Humphrey Bogart thinks he can get away with murder in "*Conflict*." Even when Sydney Greenstreet, as the psychiatrist who is continually poking his nose into everything, tells him there is no such thing as a "perfect

crime," Bogart goes blithely on, unaware that his fatal error, in spite of well laid plans, has already started the wheels of justice against him. I wish the script (written by Arthur Horman and Dwight Taylor) hadn't made Bogart's one slip so obvious and that Greenstreet hadn't reacted to it so definitely, because we learn too early in the game that Greenstreet knows what's up. This doesn't really detract from the suspense, however. Director Curtis Bernhardt manages to hold us spellbound throughout—no small achievement since our sympathies are not with any of the characters. As in "Double Indemnity," "The Suspect" and "The Woman in the Window," we are fascinated by the proceedings; even as we wonder in these films how retribution will come to the evildoers, we shiver for them when escapes are cut off and the nets tighten. Bernhardt has directed his case well. Bogart plays the murderer in a straightforward, realistic manner without resorting to histrionics. In supporting roles: Greenstreet looks very wise, matter-of-fact and ominous all at the same time, Rose Hobart as Bogart's nagging wife is appropriately possessive and unpleasant, and pretty Alexis Smith, as her sister with whom Bogart is infatuated, is duly perplexed at the dreadful goings-on. "Conflict" is rather talky but the picture has good cinema values.

Danny Kaye is two wonder boys in "*Wonder Man*," which really should have had a plural title. He plays super-identical twins, one being a smartalecky New York night club entertainer who is quite conceited (perhaps rightly) about his repartee, and the other is a shy, modest genius who knows *everything* and is writing an "Outline of Human Knowledge" (with both hands at once) when we first see him in a Brooklyn library. Well, the smartalecky one is taken for a ride by some gangsters who bump him off because he knows too much about a certain murder. Then the dead twin inspires the shy genius to impersonate him at the night club and tell the D.A. all about the murder. This leads to complications, some of which are very funny because both twins are in love with attractive girls (Virginia Mayo and Vera-Ellen) who do not know each other. And needless to say, all this monkey business, which has fortunately been directed by Bruce Huberstone with a touch of irrepressible zany, gives Danny Kaye plenty of opportunity to do the clowning he does so well. Samuel Goldwyn has dressed this technicolor production with his usual gala style and expensive good taste. The film has only one full blown, super deluxe number and this comes off as real entertainment—thanks mainly to Vera-Ellen's excellent dancing and a background of gorgeous Goldwyn girls. The three Danny Kaye numbers (written by Sylvia Fine with snappy lyrics) are guaranteed to bring down the house: the Bali Boogie, which Danny sings and dances with Vera-Ellen, is a satire on all the Balinese items we've been seeing for years; in Otchi Tchorniya, Kaye ribs an allergic concert singer who takes his art and Russian songs too seriously; and in the Opera Number, which comes at the climax of the picture when the genius twin finds himself on the stage of the Met. with the D.A. in the audience, Danny goes to town with a delicious lampoon-

ing of Italian opera. It must be said that much of the success of this last exceedingly funny item is due to the fine singer, Alice Mock, who sings and plays straight while Danny carries on vile. "Wonder Man" is a treat for Kaye fans, who will eat it up.

Randolph Scott is given such a build-up before he appears in "*China Sky*" that no character could turn out to be real and still be so noble—even if he is a wonderful doctor who is devoting his energies to the sick and wounded in a Chinese village. Everyone talks about him; in fact there is entirely too much talk in this movie, not only about "Thompson Doctor," as he is called, but about the Chinese, Japanese and American characters. The action, when it comes, belongs to the old school of melodrama complete with last-minute rescue. Evidently Pearl Buck's novel, on which this is supposedly based, was lost in the shuffle. The film tells a contrived story of the competition between the doctor's assistant (Ruth Warrick), who looks much too fresh and clean to be doing all the operating that's talked about, and the doctor's wife (Ellen Drew), who is so cowardly and mean that one wonders why she ever left comfortable America to come to war-torn China in the first place—even if "Thompson Doctor" is very handsome and noble. The Chinese natives and their guerrilla fighters, in this case, serve only as background for a cheap little triangle that should have been called "Between Two Women" instead of something so elevating as "China Sky."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

## The Verses of Thomas Merton

ROBERT LOWELL

THOMAS MERTON'S career has been varied and spectacular: Cambridge University, the *New Yorker* and the Trappist monastery of Our Lady of Gethsemani. One can understand only too easily why the Protean Mr. Laughlin of the New Directions Press would be fascinated. I am sure that Catholics altogether like the idea of an "experimental" Trappist. But American Catholic culture is in a relatively receptive state of transition; in the arts, as in other things, we are taking our cue from France. Unfortunately, Merton's work has attracted almost no attentive criticism; the poet would appear to be more phenomenal than the poetry.

There is some justice in this neglect. Merton is a modest, not altogether satisfactory minor writer. But he is also, as far as my experience goes, easily the most promising of our American Catholic poets and, possibly, the most consequential Catholic poet to write in English since the death of Francis Thompson. Why the last forty years of the Catholic literary revival, which have seen the prose of Chesterton, Dawson and Waugh, have produced nothing as lasting as the light verses of Belloc is no doubt due to complex, partially intangible, causes.

Thirty Poems. Thomas Merton. New Directions. \$1.00.

We must take what comes. What Merton writes is his own, subtle and intense. So small and genuine an achievement is worth consideration.

The purpose of this review is to point up what Merton has done; this involves an analysis of his limitations and faults. I shall quote to the extent of making a short anthology and hope that each quotation will be read over until it is understood. My comments are more or less footnotes.

*The Flight into Egypt*

Through every precinct of the wintry city  
Squadroned iron resounds upon the streets;  
Herod's police  
Make shudder the dark steps of the tenements  
At the business about to be done.

Neither look back upon Thy starry country  
Nor hear what rumors crowd across the dark  
While blood runs down those holy walls,  
Nor frame a childish blessing with Thy hand  
Towards that fiery spiral of exulting souls!

Go, Child of God, upon the singing desert,  
Where, with eyes of flame,  
The roaming lion keeps Thy road from harm.

This is modern and traditional, graceful and quietly powerful. The first ten lines are probably the finest in the entire book. Note especially the stern imagery and rhetorical éclat of the first stanza; the subtle shift of rhythm in the second stanza, and the unity of symbol, meaning and sound in line 10. About the last three lines I am less certain. Too much depends on the word *singing* (presumably, the poet means that the desert is simple and alive, in contrast to the tortured, twisted fury of the town) which prepares for the sinless *flame* of the lion.

*The Blessed Virgin Mary Compared to a Window*

Because my will is simple as a window  
And knows no pride of original earth,  
It is my life to die, like glass, by light;  
Slain in the strong rays of the bridegroom son. . . .

For light, my lover, steals my life in secret.  
I vanish into day, and leave no shadow  
But the geometry of my cross,  
Whose frame and structure are the strength  
By which I die. . . .

Because I die by brightness and the Holy Spirit  
The Sun rejoices in your jail, my kneeling Christian. . . .

At first glance this is merely a tour-de-force, in imitation of Donne's "Of My Name in the Window." Then one realizes how persistently and honestly the conceit has been elaborated, how right the tone is for Our Lady. The figure of the window-frame and its shadow is almost as good as its original. Donne's and Crashaw's contributions to the poem detract nothing from its sincerity and freshness. The extracts that I have quoted should have been the entire poem, for the rest, in spite of much incidental brilliance, is repetitive, loose, wordy.

One of Merton's faults is a contrivance that he may have learned from some of the less successful poems of Crashaw (e.g., "The Weeper"), the atomic conceit: each conceit is an entity and the whole poem is seldom much more than the sum of its parts, often it is considerably

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less. My quotations should have made it plain that Merton is not writing a seventeenth century pastiche; he is using the old devices as an artist, not as an antiquarian. At the same time he follows so closely on the heels of his predecessors that the capacity of his vision is narrowed. Much of the old immediacy, power and mass are lost. In fact, Merton's poems, like Christina Rossetti's, are precariously unlocated in time or place. Nor is this much helped by a trick that he may have gotten from Edith Sitwell or Cummings, that is, using a sound word where one would expect a *light* word. Occasionally this yields most effective lines, as in a Crucifixion poem which opens with: "When Romans gambled in the clash of lance-light." (*Lancelight* is an alliterative, Hopkinsian compound that works; however, the last line of the same poem is ruined by Hopkins: "Reeks of the death-thirst man-life found in the forbidden apple.") Elsewhere, as in the *singing desert* of my first quotation, a mannerism is made to bear the burden of inspiration.

"Flight Into Egypt" is in Merton's most original style; "A Window" is more derivative but hardly inferior. There is a third Merton who is glib, sentimental and romantic.

#### *The Holy Child's Song*

When My kind Father, kinder than the sun,  
With looks and smiles bends down  
And utters my bodily life,  
My flesh obeying, praises Heaven like a smiling cloud.  
Then I am the gay wheatfields, the serious hills:  
I fill the sky with words of light, and My incarnate songs  
Fly in and out the branches of My childish voice  
Like thrushes in a tree.

These lines are clearly superior to Kilmer's unwittingly obscene "Tree," but thinness is not disguised by one or two apt words and an ordered irregularity of meter. A lofty subject and enthusiastic imagery are often imaginative narcotics.

A variation on the style of "The Flight Into Egypt" appears in the nature poems:

When cold November sits among the reeds like an  
unlucky fisher  
And ducks drum up as sudden as the wind  
Out of the rushy river,  
We slowly come, robbed of our rod and gun,  
Walking amid the stricken cages of the trees.

This is charming and the details are solid as the details of "The Holy Child's Song" should have been solid. Unfortunately here, as in most of the other nature poems, the fine opening is undeveloped. Instead the *cages* flounder on into an impossible devotional metaphor, upholstered with *keys*, *jails* and *jailers*.

#### *For My Brother Reported Missing in Action, 1943*

Sweet brother, if I do not sleep  
My eyes are flowers for your tomb;  
And if I cannot eat my bread,  
My fasts shall live like willows where you died.  
If in the heat I find no water for my thirst,  
My thirst shall turn to springs for you, poor traveller.

Where, in what desolate and smoky country  
Lies your poor body, lost and dead?  
And in what landscape of disaster  
Has your unhappy spirit lost its road?

Come, in my labor find a resting place  
And in my sorrows lay your head;  
Or rather take my life and blood  
And buy yourself a better bed—  
Or take my breath and take my death  
And buy yourself a better rest.

When all the men of war are shot  
And flags are fallen into dust,  
Your cross and mine shall tell men still  
Christ died on each, for both of us.

For in the wreckage of your April Christ lies slain  
And Christ weeps in the ruins of my spring:  
The money of whose tears shall fall  
Into your weak and friendless hand,  
And buy you back to your own land:  
The silence of Whose tears shall fall  
Like bells upon your alien tomb.  
Hear them and come: they call you home.

To appreciate how this string of commonplace figures constantly keeps shifting and moving and never becomes insincere, extravagant or dead, the reader should have tried his luck with epitaphs and have failed—have failed and thought he succeeded. Comparison should be made with Crashaw's verses on "A Man and His Wife Who Were Buried Together." There the metaphors are worked out with logic and care and the meter is much firmer; but Merton's poem has its own virtues and is not overshadowed.

## Editors' Choice

GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGES. Jack Chernick and George C. Hellickson. University of Minnesota. \$2.50.

THE SCANDAL. Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. Knopf. \$2.50.

### Procter & Gamble, Hormel, Nunn-Bush

WHILE plans for national reconversion to peacetime production are notable for their absence as far as the public knows, of suggestions there are many. Some would put chief reliance on resettlement on the land; others like cooperatives; many call for huge government expenditures for public works. The Administration itself favors a 60,000,000 job goal backed by federal guarantees. A lot of American businessmen, counting on piled up war savings and unprecedented consumer demands for new houses, cars, radios, refrigerators and the rest, are banking on industrial expansion so great that the government will not have to step in. Messrs. Chernick and Hellickson disclaim the rôle of panacea for their guaranteed annual wage remedy but by the last pages of their current volume they contend that it would help a lot toward working out "economic security . . . within the framework of a free society."

William Cooper Procter made soap, Jay C. Hormel meat products and Henry L. Nunn shoes—all, straight consumers' goods. Each in his own way put into operation a plan whereby regular employees of his firm were assured of jobs at regular pay the whole year round. These businesses have thereby registered great self-benefits from their low rate of labor turnover, higher productive efficiency and lower costs. As Mr. Nunn put it, "No man can be expected to give his greatest skill or best loyalty to a job that discards him when trouble comes." Hundreds of managements have investigated the way these three firms have drastically curbed sea-

sonal lay-offs, but up to August 25, 1944 there were only 55 annual wage plans in operation in this country.

Most of them have been management-inspired and encountered much employee opposition at the outset. Many workers were suspicious and feared that it would enable management to put over a speed-up. Only recently, after years of the plan's success, has a national labor organization, the CIO, advocated annual wage plans. The several States have added their encouragement by graduating their unemployment compensation taxes on businesses on the basis of the unemployment which occurs among a company's workers. It all works toward the desideratum of genuine partnership between management and employees.

Austin, Minn., home of the Hormel plant, is the prize exhibit of guaranteed annual wage advocates. It is a one-company town and its phenomenal population growth, increase in new workers' private homes, business, employment and school facilities coincide so exactly with the introduction of year-round employment throughout the plant as to make the causal relation between the two inevitable. Much of the increase in local purchases was accounted for in buying on the installment plan based on confidence in the company. But what is incontrovertibly good is that steady jobs have enabled hundreds of Hormel packinghouse workers to plan the future; to marry, build homes, raise families—all with a strong sense of personal security.

The authors agree that once a company assumes the responsibility of maintaining employment, its stock becomes less attractive to investors. Yet this is a responsibility companies must assume if we are to enjoy a workable postwar "free economy." Making employment less irregular may be more difficult for makers of producers goods, but it has proved successful with machinery manufacturers. It would be a boon to the strategic building trades, where excessive hourly wage rates and a work year of but eight or nine months have greatly restricted housing construction for the past two decades. The effect on other industries of full-time employment in the building industry may be gathered from the fact that the latter accounts for 15 percent of the national income and constitutes the nation's largest single industry. One does not have to be more than an amateur economist to realize that widespread adoption of guaranteed annual wages could play a big part in staving off another depression.

### Romantic Adventure

IN THE opening pages of "The Scandal" young Fabián Conde drives his stylish carriage through the streets of Madrid on his way to tell—not to confess, for he is no believer—a Jesuit priest his sins. It is carnival time; Fabián's career as a Don Juan is known scandalously to the public: "Gangway for Fabián Conde, for the Caesar, the Ghengis Khan, the Napoleon of women!" Fabián has done something very awful to a girl named Gabriela; this is evident because her name is shouted at him by a "gaudily attired magician" amid the jeering crowd of masqueraders and, hearing the name, Fabián, pale as he is already, grows more pale; he struggles with tears and proud fury; clear, finally, of the mob, "the hapless young man handed the reins to the groom, buried his face in his hands, and uttered a sob like the roar of a dying lion." Thus Fabián establishes

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himself at once as a romantic hero and it is very fortunate that the reader in this way recognizes immediately the literary family to which this young man belongs who is driving his carriage through the Madrid of Goya and who, if freed from his present paroxysm of emotion, might be picnicking with the others in the "Prato di San Isidro." Of course the reader may know that Pedro Antonio de Alarcón published "The Scandal" in Spain in 1875 and that the novel deals with the Madrid of a slightly earlier period, but it is just as well that the novel's opening scene should make matters clear by itself.

Because something is about to happen to this romantic youth which has not often happened to other romantic youths in literature.

As a result of what Fabián of course thinks are his very remarkable powers of seduction, but which also may well have been the powers of experienced ladies in Madrid society to seduce him, an intense career in adultery finally has brought him face to face with a "problem." This time it is not just one more duel with an outraged husband. That would not inordinately disturb him because he always cuts the ears off husbands. This time things look very black indeed. This time he is in love, really in love, with the niece of one of his mistresses. And now the scandal of his life overtakes him and there can be no marriage. He is accused falsely of a seduction he has not attempted, and no one possibly can believe in his innocence. And as if this were not enough to cause him extreme distress, everything else is to be taken away from him when his love is taken away from him; his wealth is to go, his title of nobility is to go, his honor is ruined beyond repair. No duel can solve Fabián's problem; the hero's death will not solve it; Fabián is in a trap. A trap magnificently constructed by the author. There is no issue.

Well, what happens is that Fabián takes his problem, he tells his intricate and exciting tale, to a Jesuit and the problem of what action he is to take, now that he is trapped, becomes the subject of the most exhaustive, critical and brilliant investigation under the theorems of modern theology. It is almost as if a mathematician went to work on given data. In this way the problem is solved. To everyone's satisfaction. Without the customary hecatomb of romantic deaths. There is one death, admittedly a convenient one, but it is not inherently necessary to the problem's solution. There is Fabián's conversion to the love of God and this inherently is necessary to the solution; it is the solution itself. It is not a solution generally found in the lives of romantic heroes.

Usually the romantics wrote books and every so often some expert in moral theology would write a book to say what was wrong with the other books. But this time something very unusual occurs and, in the technique of the novel, something very original. A highly romantic story (filled with all the romantic apparatus of illegitimate children, marquises and counts, dark palaces, treachery, duels, secrets, innocence and adultery, great fortunes and the eldest son is cursed by the noble father on his deathbed . . .) is told to a moral theologian and the theologian says this and that, according to his rules, about what the hero has done in the past. But when the hero has told his story, when the action no longer concerns the past, when the hero no longer can sit talking to the Jesuit but must instead decide what to do now in the Madrid night before the dawn comes with the disaster the past has prepared so efficiently, the moral theologian

himself enters the action of the story. He and the hero act out together, announce the solution of the problem. The hero changes the whole course of his action because he has found out that the rules of the theologian point to the only possible solution and so a violent story of adultery, intrigue, fighting and arrogance turns into a story of renunciation and spiritual heroism.

The story even becomes a "pious" story. Toward the end everyone is praying together, forgiving each other, and Fabián marries the girl because, according to the rules of moral theology, you do not escape into piety and leave everybody in the lurch but you continue to have your obligations "in the world"—including the obligation to love the girl you love.

It should be said, after this summary, that there are extremely eloquent passages in the writing and also a great deal of wit; the story is an exciting story. The translation, by Philip H. Riley and Hubert James Tunney, is excellent. (There is one misreading—we have not available the Spanish text, but surely this is a misreading: ". . . God whose Holy Name never falls from the lips of those called atheists—as if they could not speak of anything but the misfortune of having offended Him." Surely the sense is that atheists speak of God incessantly.)

## More Books of the Week

*The Dynamics of Culture Change.* Bronislaw Malinowski. Edited by Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. Yale. \$2.50.

THIS IS a very terrible book. Posthumously published, it is the literary testament of one of the greatest anthropologists of all time. It has been brilliantly put together and edited by one of Dr. Malinowski's favorite pupils—when she was awarded a Yale Fellowship in Race Relations in 1942-3 he suggested that Dr. Phyllis Kaberry collaborate with him in a book on culture contact and change. His death in 1943 did not end the collaboration, thanks to her devotion, and this is the book. It is probably the most dispassionate book ever written on the colonial problem, for nowhere does Dr. Malinowski discuss either political or moral questions. His attitude, be it to missionary, to European exploiter, to baffled educationalist or well-intentioned civil-servant, is always "neither do I condemn thee . . . but let's see if there's no practical way of wasting less"—less good, less hope, less human potential, less health. This is a study of the adaptations made by native man to changes in the culture pattern in which he finds himself. At the outset, Dr. Malinowski dismisses as puerile any attempt to study any savage, in Africa or elsewhere, in the present-day world, apart from the white man whose impact has everywhere affected all four of what he calls "the instrumental imperatives": economic organization, the normative system, the organization of force (that is, the political constitution) and the mechanisms and agencies of education. These are the skeletal necessities of any culture. And he does insist that "the whole argument of this book contains one important moral of method. We have seen everywhere that a living process like that of culture change cannot be studied merely by documents and verbal utterances. A full knowledge of what culture change really means and what it looks like can only be acquired by the man and woman who have actually worked in the three fields

which constitute African change. He must be at home . . . with the practice of the whites in Africa. He must have acquired a firsthand knowledge of African thought and behavior . . . he must also extend his field work to the typical and important phases of culture change—the Rand or the Copper Belt, plantations and schools, churches and law courts." For as he explains categorically elsewhere "change cannot be studied by either of the two determinants, African or European, or yet by any device of combining the two. The phenomenon of change is not a mixture, nor even simple acculturation. Change under conditions of the color-bar . . . becomes a cultural *tertium quid*."

It is this color-bar which is for him the hall-mark of the white, far more than Christianity or clothes. "The disproportion between the hopes raised and the advantages promised to the African . . . and the realization which he receives at the barrier of racial discrimination . . . is the main problem. . . . If, from the outset, it were possible to make quite clear in preaching the gospel of civilization that no full identity can ever be reached; that what are being given to the Africans are new conditions of existence . . . the smaller would be the chances of . . . the formation of new, potentially dangerous nationalisms." This is hardly the moon for which Dr. Malinowski is crying—his request is as moderate as that of the cleric's at his atheist brother's funeral, "*Un Pater—c'est bien le minimum*." He has several unexpected good words to say for missionaries: "Often the first to come, and quite as often the last to abandon, the ideal attitude in the treatment of African problems." But here also the color bar sours success "whenever and wherever the principle of the color-bar is officially or unofficially the law of the land, the whole work of the missionary is doubly hampered." As Dr. Malinowski points out, the most unlettered savage can still sense the difference between the preaching of the gospel of universal brotherhood and current practice!

This whole serious, profound, and superbly annotated book should have been a "set-book" or "must" for all the delegates at San Francisco, including even the Russians. But the last four chapters are perhaps the most generally essential. They are an epitome of all that has been learnt in Africa: "African land problems," "Problems of native diet in their economic setting," "Indirect rule and its scientific planning" (Dr. Malinowski, it need hardly be said, is strongly in favor of a great extension of Indirect rule); and "The promise of culture change and its fulfillment" are the titles. The charts prepared by Dr. Malinowski for use both in his London School of Economics lectures and actually in the field are as vital and obvious—though no one seems to have thought them out before—as the comparable charts used by Mass-Observation in England or the Fortune or Gallup Polls in this country.

Dr. Malinowski sees every question as a whole. For example, though he commends "the excellent feeding in the mines given to 300,000 people" (on the Witwatersrand Gold Mines) he does not lose sight of the fact that it is given at the expense of abstracting their labor from the tribal economy. The women and children who remain at home undoubtedly suffer, "especially in communities where 60 or 70 percent of the able-bodied men are permanently absent." And he suggests, O so gently and politely! that since no amount of bloodshed by Africans in Africa will contribute to the final settle-

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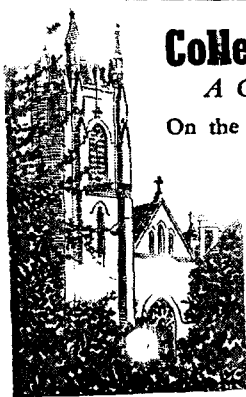
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ment of the issues when there is war in Europe, it seems a pity to organize them for bigger and bloodier wars, "if one of the unquestionable benefits which we could give them would be real peace."

He hammers delicately, neatly, a few more nails into the coffin of nineteenth century materialism. It was ironic justice enough that it should be Dr. Freud's own daughter who discovered, by bitter, but scientific, experience in this war, that the best institution is worse than the worst mother; that the family, in spite of Oedipus, is still the most normal, most necessary of human associations.

Now Dr. Malinowski proves that "culture is an instrumental reality, an apparatus for the satisfaction of fundamental needs, that is of organic survival." Propagation he points out, does not take place among human beings by simple mating "but within the highly complicated cultural institution of marriage." Man must find means to hand his cultural heritage on to succeeding generations, and so the "educational imperative" is no less important than the biological one. And, though man "lives reasonably, even at the early stages of his development," he "does not live by reason alone" for "religious belief and ritual contain an organized and standardized response." In the ritual behavior of the primitive human groups at burial and mourning "we find . . . first and foremost . . . the conviction that man has a soul." This need, Dr. Malinowski insists, is not due to any psychological instinct; and he concludes that "religion is not a cultural epiphenomenon, but a profound moral and social force which gives the ultimate integration to human culture." As Soviet Russia also has discovered—though with more political axes to grind by such an invention than has a "pure" scientist, even though in this case he also happens to be a Pole!

Saint Thomas insisted that the only excuse for the seizure of land was the seizer's better utilization thereof for mankind as a whole, and the community in particular, than the former owner's. Private property ceased to exist where the common good was no longer served by its existence: thus the taking of America from the Indians and the Incas was justified; thus all colonization. When, as in 92 percent of the Union of South Africa, natives had no rights to legal tenure the results, as the White Paper stated in 1936, were that "speaking generally, it is notorious that the existing native locations and reserves are congested, denuded, over-stocked, eroded and for the most part, in a deplorable condition." Saint Thomas might, like the Greeks, have a word for this.

ANNE FREMANTLE.

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